This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

AN
(LINCOLN, A.)
THAYER

Character and Public Services

OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

BY

WILLIAM M. THAYER,

AUTHOR OF THE "PIONEER BOY," THE "YOUTH'S HISTORY OF THE REBELLION," ETC.

BOSTON:
DINSMOOR AND COMPANY,
33, SCHOOL STREET.
1864.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

The Danger of Slavery, and the Safety of Emancipation Tested.

The learned and justly celebrated French author, M. AUGUSTINE COCHIN, has written two remarkable volumes, forming together the most *complete and exhaustive* HISTORY OF SLAVERY, both as an institution and a principle, ever offered to the world; showing conclusively from *past experience*, and giving the "facts and figures" to prove, that in *Freedom* only is safety for any nation. The volumes are entitled —

The Results of Slavery.

12mo. $1.75.

The Results of Emancipation.

12mo. $1.75.

These works are not only invaluable, but *indispensable*, to every man desirous of fully understanding the momentous questions at issue in this nation at this time. The volumes are the *unprejudiced* work of a foreigner, and are not partisan, but cool, logical, and *practical*.

Speeches, Lectures, and Letters.

BY WENDELL PHILLIPS.

1 vol. 8vo, elegantly printed, bound in vellum, gilt top, or bevelled boards, red edges; *with the finest Portrait of Mr. Phillips ever made.*
Price $2.50.

"No ancient orator was ever more brilliant with keen sarcasm, splendid invective, or destructive satire, scattered like diamond handfuls in every direction. * * They are classic, as products of rare genius, aristocratic culture, stern moral purpose, historic permanence." — *Methodist Quarterly Review.*

The Three New War-Books.

THE COLOR GUARD; being a Corporal's Notes of Military Service in the Nineteenth Army Corps. By Rev. J. K. HOSMER, who volunteered as Private in the Fifty-second Massashusetts, and went through the campaign. 12mo. $1.50.

THE WHIP, HOE, AND SWORD; or, The Gulf Department in '63. By Rev. GEORGE H. HEPWORTH. 12mo. $1.50.

CHAPLAIN FULLER; being a Life-Sketch of a New-England Clergyman and an Army Chaplain. 12mo. Portrait. Price $1.50.

☞ All these Books SENT FREE BY MAIL on receipt of the price.

WALKER, WISE, & CO.,

245, Washington Street, Boston.

DINSMOOR & CO., General Agents.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

A. Lincoln

THE EARLY HOME OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

AS IT NOW STANDS IN ELIZABETHTOWN, HARDIN CO., KY.

"His father built this log cabin and in it Abraham was born. [illegible] and passed some of his early years. It was also the home of his wife's relatives."

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR
TILDEN
R

THE

Character and Public Services

OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

By WM. M. THAYER,

Author of the "Pioneer Boy," "Youth's History of the Rebellion," &c.

PUBLIC LIBRARY

BOSTON:

DINSMOOR AND COMPANY,

33, School Street.

1864.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
741905
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
R 1916 L

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1864, by

WALKER, WISE, AND COMPANY,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

BOSTON:

STEREOTYPED AND PRINTED BY JOHN WILSON AND SON

No. 5, Water Street.

CONTENTS.

Character and Public Services of Abraham Lincoln 9

BOYHOOD AND MANHOOD. — ELECTED PRESIDENT. — SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD. — HIS REQUEST SUBLIME. — SPEECH AT NEW YORK. — BEFORE OHIO SENATE. — HIS WELCOME AN OVATION. — ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE HIM. — HIS INAUGURATION AND ADDRESS. — ITS ELOQUENT APPEAL TO ENEMIES. — HIS STYLE CLEAR AND FORCIBLE. — DEEP INTEREST IN THE SOLDIERS. — VISITS LIEUT. WORDEN. — VISITS THE WOUNDED. — HIS INTERVIEW WITH REBELS. — AMIABLE QUALITIES. — INTERVIEW WITH THREE LITTLE GIRLS. — COUNTING GREENBACKS FOR A NEGRO. — RECEIVING A TRACT. — A DESCRIPTION OF HIM BY A CLOSE OBSERVER. — HIS DAILY LIFE, BY "PERLEY." — DESCRIPTION OF HIM BY AN ENGLISH WRITER. — A REMARKABLE EULOGIUM. — HIS SINGLENESS OF PURPOSE, AND CONSISTENCY. — NEVER VACILLATES. — HIS LETTER TO A. G. HODGES, ESQ. — WORDS OF MRS. STOWE. — HIS MARKED HONESTY. — HE STUDIES TO FOLLOW PROVIDENCE. — LETTER FROM A DEMOCRAT. — HE HAS NO VICES. — A TEMPERANCE MAN. — HIS INTELLECTUAL POWER. — WORSTED JUDGE DOUGLAS. — TRIBUTE TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. — OPINION OF SENATOR TRUMBULL. — EULOGY BY TWO FRENCH STATESMEN. — OPINION OF AN ENGLISH WRITER. — HIS REPARTEES AND ANECDOTES. — HIS ADMINISTRATION, AND DIFFICULTIES TO OVERCOME. — HIS GLORIOUS SUCCESS. — CHARGES AGAINST HIM ANSWERED. — WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS. — ARBITRARY ARRESTS. — LINCOLN A GREATER GENERAL THAN M'CLELLAN. — HIS ACTS AND LETTERS. — HIS ANTI-SLAVERY VIEWS. — PROGRESS OF FREEDOM. — WORDS OF GARRISON AND HON. MR. ARNOLD. — FREMONT'S AND HUNTER'S PROCLAMATIONS. — MR. LINCOLN'S TOLERANT POLICY. — RECONSTRUCTION. — THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT. — VOICE FROM THE ARMY. — GEN. NEAL DOW'S SPEECH. — HORACE GREELEY'S INCONSISTENCY. — MR. LINCOLN NOT AN OFFICE-SEEKER. — OUR FOREIGN FRIENDS DESIRE HIS RE-ELECTION. — SPEECH OF PETER SINCLAIR, ESQ., OF SCOTLAND, AND OF HON. GEORGE THOMPSON, OF ENGLAND.

Character and Public Services

OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

ELECTION AND INAUGURATION.

THE public services of Abraham Lincoln, as President of the United States, are now a matter of history. The last year of his official term is passing away with the shock of battle and the promise of victory. It is well to pause, and consider how ably he has guided the Ship of State through the storm and breakers of civil war. Surely the successes of his early life were harbingers of triumphs in this period of sanguinary strife. The elements of character that adorned his youth, and blossomed into golden manhood, brightening the star of his fame as a lawyer, legislator, statesman, and patriot, prefigured his successful administration of national affairs as the ruler of the American Republic.

Abraham Lincoln was elected to the office of President of the United States on the 6th of November, 1860. On the eleventh day of February, 1861, he left his home in Springfield, Ill., where twenty-five eventful years of his life had been spent, to proceed to Washington. Thousands of his fellow-citizens, of all parties and sects, to whom he was endeared by the strongest ties of friendship, assembled at the depot to bid him farewell. They revered and loved

him as an elder brother; and, while they rejoiced that the American people had conferred the highest honor upon him, they sorrowed that the parting hour had arrived.

With deep emotion, almost forbidding utterance, Mr. Lincoln thus addressed the multitude before his departure:—

"My friends, no one can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. To this people I owe all that I am. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a century. Here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I shall see you again. A duty devolves upon me which is perhaps greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. *He* never would have succeeded, except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that *I* cannot succeed without the same divine aid which sustained him; and in the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support; and I hope that you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain. Again I bid you all an affectionate farewell."

Many eyes were bedimmed with tears when he closed. Many hearts struggled with emotion. Many a silent "*God bless you!*" went up to heaven as the cars moved away. How many earnest prayers arose from the altars of Springfield, at the close of that day, for the President elect, whom the people honored and loved! They remembered his simple request, which no other than a sincerely good man would have dared to make in the circumstances; and hundreds of fervent spirits besought Him, who preserved and guided Washington, to sustain and direct their friend in his new and trying position.

There is much of true greatness in this single request of [illegible]ham Lincoln. He who was reared in a log-cabin is

not lifted up by pride now that he is going to the White House. The President is as humble and familiar as the Pioneer Boy. His heart is oppressed by a deep sense of his responsibilities. It is not only a sacred, but also a momentous trust to which he is called. He realizes the solemn reality. "A duty devolves upon me which is perhaps greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington," he said. Surely that is responsibility enough! And yet he should not have excepted Washington; for even the "Father of his Country" did not take the Presidential chair under circumstances so momentous and appalling. Those were peaceful days in comparison with this fearful period of civil war. Washington manned the ship, and spread her sails. Lincoln took the helm in a gale that threatened to tear her canvas to shreds; and, with the solemn charge to save the ship and her precious freight, pilots her over dangerous rocks and through stormy waves. As he himself most beautifully expressed it, in reply to the Mayor of New-York City, who welcomed him to that metropolis, when he was on his journey to Washington, —

"There is nothing that could ever bring me to willingly consent to the destruction of this Union, under which not only the great commercial city of New York, but the whole country, acquired its greatness, except it be the purpose for which the Union itself was formed. I understand the ship to be made for the carrying and the preservation of the cargo; and, so long as the ship can be saved with the cargo, it should never be abandoned, unless it fails the possibility of its preservation and shall cease to exist, except at the risk of throwing overboard both freight and passengers. So long, then, as it is possible that the prosperity and the liberties of the people be preserved in this Union, it shall be my purpose, at all times, to use all my powers to aid in its perpetuation."

The welcome extended to Mr. Lincoln on his journey to the capital of the United States was a perfect ovation. The people crowded to meet and greet him at every stopping-place; and he was welcomed to the cities through which he passed with music and the ringing of bells, the waving of banners and the peal of cannon. Yet amid all these festivities, and demonstrations of joy, his mind labored with the fearful problem of national existence that loomed up in the future; and he repeated again and again, to the multitudes who thronged to see him, the sentiments which he addressed to the President of the Ohio Senate:—

"It is true, as has been said by the President of the Senate, that very great responsibility rests upon me in the position to which the votes of the American people have called me. I am deeply sensible of that weighty responsibility. I cannot but know, what you all know, that without a name, perhaps without a reason why I should have a name, there has fallen upon me a task such as did not rest upon the "Father of his Country;" and, so feeling, I cannot but turn, then, and look to the American people, *and to that God who has never forsaken them.*"

With such feelings of patriotic trust, courage, and hope, he became President of the United States. Enemies were on his track, and plots were laid to assassinate him. He narrowly escaped from the bloody grasp of a traitorous mob, in his journey through Baltimore, by clandestinely going through the city by night. All around him were those who would gladly have seconded any secret measure to murder him. Their hands were ready for evil deeds, and blood was in their hearts. Yet no person was cooler than Mr. Lincoln. No man had so much to fear, yet no man was more fearless. He had counted the cost, and had resolved to live or perish with the Union.

On that fearful night of the 18th of April, 1861, when it was confidently expected that armed traitors from Virginia would seize the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and thence make a descent upon Washington, the President was calm, thoughtful, and determined. His evident coolness inspired the hearts of patriots in the imperilled capital with greater courage; and as two hundred of them secretly entered a church in the rear of Willard's Hotel, where they pledged themselves to die, if need be, for their bleeding country, they knew that a brave, unfaltering patriot, capable of a heroic life or a martyr's death, thought and prayed beneath the roof of the White House. With such a chieftain, in such a cause, it was not strange that loyal men resolved, with true Spartan courage, to defend the capital, or flow the streets with blood.

The President, in his Inaugural Address, clearly and forcibly enunciated his views upon the momentous issues of the hour. His words were conciliatory, but firm, dignified, and resolute. Loyal hearts that had no sympathy with the guilty cause of the Rebellion were extremely gratified with the address. Traitors and their sympathizers were displeased. Mr. Lincoln said in that address, —

"I therefore consider, that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this, which I deem to be a simple duty on my part, I shall perfectly perform it, so far as is practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisition, or, in some authoritative manner, direct the contrary.

"I trust that this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as

the declared purpose of the Union, that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

"In doing this, there need be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it is forced upon the national authority.

"The power confided to me will be used *to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government*, and collect the duties and imposts; but, beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere."

His Inaugural Speech closed with the following eloquent appeal to the enemies of the country:—

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you.

"You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government; while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it.'

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection.

"The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot-grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Eloquent, beautiful, fitting words! The most classic scholar who has occupied the Presidential chair never penned a paragraph that excelled the above in beauty of conception, grandeur of sentiment, and elegance of diction. They challenge the scrutiny of carping critics; and, long after the hand that penned them shall be palsied by death, History will record them with her immortal treasures.

Let those who are wont to criticise the President's State papers, pronouncing them inelegant, coarse, without rhetorical attraction, excel the foregoing if they can. The State papers of Abraham Lincoln, taken as a whole, were never excelled, and seldom equalled, by his predecessors in office. Posterity will so regard them, and point to them with an honorable pride. Their author possesses one excellence which distinguishes the finest writers, according to the rules of rhetoric; and that is, the ability to express his thoughts in a concise, clear, and forcible manner. The papers of President Lincoln are peculiarly worthy of imitation in this respect. They contain no redundant words or phrases, and are marked by such clearness and perspicuity that the common people can understand them.

True, his style is without flourishes: he never made a mere *flourish* in any thing; and we have reason to thank God for it. A President who was disposed to make a *flourish* would be disqualified for his office in such times as these. A matter-of-fact man is needed for this high position in this period of grave realities; and such is Mr. Lincoln, both in the productions of his pen and the deeds of his life.

We do not say that no defects are discoverable in his State papers; but we do say that they are offset by so many excellences as to render them of small account to the unprejudiced reader. "Glittering generalities" may entertain the promiscuous assembly, and perhaps contribute ornament to the popular oration; but there is no place for them in the papers that emanate from the Chief Magistrate of this great nation. If his style be sometimes inelegant, he always clothes his thoughts in a clear Anglo-Saxon garb, and adds attractions to the whole by lively conceptions and

winning metaphors. He oftener rises to genuine Saxon force and classic purity, than he violates the rules of rhetoric or offends good taste.

We might quote many passages from his public documents in support of this view; but we shall be content with citing his Dedicatory Address at the consecration of the national cemetery at Gettysburg, reserving other illustrations of the views expressed to appear in the sequel. On that memorable occasion of Nov. 18, 1863, when the loyal nation gathered on the crimson battle-field of Gettysburg to pay a grateful tribute to the memory of fallen heroes, the President was charged with the solemn and affecting duty of making the Dedicatory Address; and his words were as follows, — brief, appropriate, touching, and beautiful: —

"Fourscore and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow, this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain; that

the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom; and that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

The throng of eager listeners was swayed by his stirring words. Their hearts swelled with deeper emotions as the speaker poured out the fervor of his own patriotic soul, always in full sympathy with the brave defenders of the country, over the nameless graves which consecrated that field of blood.

"The world will little note, nor long remember, what *we* say here; but it can never forget what THEY DID here."

Noble words of a true-hearted patriot! Such honor to the brave does not often hallow their sleeping dust. He who wears the highest honors of the nation stood there to honor the humblest private who fell in that bloody conflict; confessing, that, when his dedicatory words shall have been forgotten, the deeds of the heroic victors of Gettysburg will be remembered. His generous nature clasped the lifeless forms of those who saved their country by nobly sacrificing themselves; and he would recognize the obligations of the living to the martyred dead.

In this honest tribute to the army, we discover, in addition to the high merits of the address as a literary production, one prominent trait of the character of Abraham Lincoln; viz., a just recognition of true merit wherever it belongs. Unlike many, who ascribe all the glory to a successful general, he does not conceal the fact, that the valiant private, by his telling strokes, gives triumph to the general's skill. Let others honor the military leader alone: he would honor also the braves *who are led.* No wonder that he is endeared to our loyal army; that mutual love and respect is cherished between them.

DEEP INTEREST IN THE SOLDIERS.

The Christian Commission was organized to bless the sick and wounded soldiers, and Mr. Lincoln was among the first public officers to appreciate its value. George H. Stuart, Esq., the worthy president of it, stated at a public meeting in Washington last winter, that the first letter of recognition from any official quarter, breathing encouragement and hope, which the society received, was from President Lincoln. His feelings were so deeply interested in the welfare of the soldiers, that he hailed such an organization as a real God-send, and could not withhold from its officers the warm greeting of his heart.

In March of the present year, the President manifested his deep interest in the soldiers by attending a fair for their benefit in the city of Washington, where he made the following brief speech:—

"Ladies and gentlemen, I appear to say but a word. This extraordinary war in which we are engaged falls heavily upon all classes of people, but the most heavily upon the soldier. For it has been said, 'All that a man hath will he give for his life;' and, while all contribute of their substance, the soldier puts his life at stake, and often yields it up in his country's cause. *The highest merit, then, is due to the soldier.*

"In this extraordinary war, extraordinary developments have manifested themselves, such as have not been seen in former wars; and, among these manifestations, nothing has been more remarkable than these fairs for the relief of suffering soldiers and their families And the chief agents in these fairs are the women of America.

"I am not accustomed to the use of language of eulogy; I have never studied the art of paying compliments to women: but I must say, that, if all that has been said by orators and poets since the creation of the world in praise of women were applied to the

women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during the war. I will close by saying, God bless the women of America!"

When the honored commander of the "Monitor," Lieut. Worden, was conveyed to Washington, after the naval fight with the "Merrimack," in which he was severely injured, the President sought him out, to thank him, in the name of his country, for his heroism and success. The first view of his sightless eyes, and his extreme sufferings, well-nigh overcame the President. Grasping the soldier's hand, while his heart swelled with emotion, and unbidden tears filled his eyes, he gave unequivocal proof of his respect and sympathy. And this is only one of many instances of his unfeigned attachment to the soldier, and his disposition to lay aside the dignities of office to do him honor. There have been hundreds of the sick and wounded from the tented field in the hospitals at Washington, who can bear witness to the President's pleasant smile, and word of encouragement, in his accustomed visits. Amid the pressing duties of his office, he has found time to go on errands of sympathy and love to the wards of the hospitals.

A correspondent who was with the President when he visited the wounded soldiers at Frederick, Md., relates that the party passed a house in which there was a large number of Confederate wounded men. At the request of the President, the party entered the building. After Mr. Lincoln had viewed the scene, he remarked to the wounded Confederates, that "he would be pleased to take them by the hand, if they had no objections." He said, "The solemn obligations which we owe to our country and posterity compel the prosecution of this war; and it followed that

many were our enemies through uncontrollable circumstances; and he bore them no malice, and could take them by the hand with sympathy and good feeling." After a short silence, the Confederates came forward, and each silently but fervently shook the hand of the President.

Some of their number were too severely wounded to rise: so the President walked forward, and took the hands of those who were not able to walk, and bade them be of good cheer, assuring them that the best of care should be bestowed upon them. It was a very touching spectacle, and beholders wept at the interview. Most of the Confederates, even, were moved to tears by this simple act of kindness.

AMIABLE CHARACTER.

Growing out of this amiable and genial nature of the President are many of those acts that have endeared him to the country. He appears to regard his fellow-men as equals; and to act upon the principle, that neither office nor honor can add true worth to manhood. He never appears to be influenced by the thought, "I am President of the United States," in his intercourse with men. He is as familiar, genial, and loving now as ever he was; and he possesses that remarkable faculty of making everybody feel at home in his presence. Even the little children shake hands with him as their friend, and catch his winning smile of recognition with delight. He was always on the best of terms with children, as the little folks of Springfield, where he lived so long, will testify. He loved them, and they loved him; and here is the true philosophy of his magnetic influence in social life. He had no enemies among the young or old. Even his political opponents were not his

enemies: they respected him as a generous, noble, honest, gifted man.

It is only a few weeks since, that three little girls, the daughters of a mechanic, neatly but poorly clad, passed into the Presidential mansion with the crowd on reception-day. Their curiosity was on tip-toe; and they were glancing their sparkling eyes from object to object, not designing to offer their little hands to the President, as their seniors did. Doubtless they thought that the Chief Magistrate of the nation would not like to have little girls intruding themselves upon his presence on such an occasion: but the President's sharp eye beheld them as they passed by him; and he called out,—

"Little girls, are you going to pass me without shaking hands?"

Then he bent forward, and warmly shook the hand of each child, all of whom seemed delighted with the interview, though not more so than everybody in the apartment; for every beholder stood spell-bound by the touching scene, in which the beautiful simplicity and sincerity of Mr. Lincoln's character appeared.

President Lincoln's administration abounds with similar scenes that are incidental to his life in Washington, showing more of the "fine old country-gentleman" than his official acts. The Washington correspondent of the "Chicago Tribune" relates the following anecdote:—

"I dropped in upon Mr. Lincoln on Monday last, and found him busily engaged in counting greenbacks. 'This, sir,' said he, 'is something out of my usual line; but a President of the United States has a multiplicity of duties not specified in the Constitution, or acts of Congress: this is one of them. This money belongs to a poor negro, who is a porter in one of the departments (the

treasury), and who is at present very sick with the small-pox. He is now in the hospital, and could not draw his pay, because he could not sign his name.

"'I have been at considerable trouble to overcome the difficulty, and get it for him; and have at length succeeded in cutting red tape, as you newspaper-men say. I am now dividing the money, and putting by a portion labelled in an envelope with my own hands, according to his wish;' and his excellency proceeded to indorse the package very carefully. No one who witnessed the transaction could fail to appreciate the goodness of heart which would prompt a man, who is borne down by the weight of cares unparalleled in the world's history, to turn aside for a time from them to succor one of the humblest of his fellow-creatures in sickness and sorrow."

Pretty well for a President! But Mr. Lincoln would always render a good service as readily to a black man as to a white one. The worth of the man is what attracts his attention, and not his complexion or his clothes. When two or three colored gentlemen availed themselves of the privilege to call upon him, at one of his Saturday receptions, a few months since, no visitor could discover that Mr. Lincoln considered them black. They were greeted with the same cordiality and freedom that he bestowed upon white men. It was the first time, probably, in the history of the White House, that colored men had participated in the receptions of the President; and yet Mr. Lincoln treated the affair as of ordinary occurrence, much to his credit and renown.

Another incident is related by George H. Stuart, Esq., of Philadelphia, to whom reference has been made. Although it was related for another object, it is equally valuable to illustrate the character of our beloved Chief Magistrate. Mr. Stuart said, —

"I am not one of the delegates of the Commission. You will presently hear from two of them, who have been down into the depths of this great work, and will describe it to you with the force that their rich experience gives them: but I have visited many of the hospitals, and some of the camps, and distributed many of these religious books; and I can testify, that, from the beginning until now, I have never met a man who refused my books, save only one, and he was from my own city of Philadelphia. I do not believe in being conquered. I do not give up any thing, if it is practicable, and can be effected. But here was a case for me. The man told me that he was an infidel; that he did not believe in my books; that he did not need them. Said he, 'I am from Philadelphia; I live at such a number, Callowhill Street: if you will go there, you will find out my character, and that I am as good as you are.'—'I trust, a great deal better,' said I. But the case did seem a difficult one. 'Stuart,' said a friend to whom I related the incident, 'you are beaten for once.'—'No,' I replied: 'I am not done with that man yet.' I approached him a short time afterwards; and he said to me, 'What is the book you wanted to give me?' It was a selection from the Scriptures, called 'Cromwell's Bible.' 'Oh!' said he, 'I don't want your Bible; I've no need of it: I'm a good enough man without it.' And, with a motion of supreme indifference, he turned his head. Said I, 'My friend, I'm from Philadelphia too: I know where you live; can find the exact house. On next Sunday evening, if God spares my life, I expect to speak for the Christian Commission in the Church of the Epiphany.' He looked at me with an inquisitive air. 'And what are you going to say?'—'I am going to tell the people that I have been distributing tracts, all day, through the hospitals and camps I had visited; and that I found but one man who refused to take them, and he was from Philadelphia.'—'Well, what more are you going to say?' the man asked, with a steady gaze, apparently defying my attempts to move him. 'Well, I'll tell them that I commenced my tract-distribution this morning at the White House in Washington, and the first gentleman I offered one of these little books to was one Abraham Lincoln; that he rose from his chair, read the title, expressed great pleasure in receiving it, and promised to read it; but that I came to one of his cooks, here in these quarters, and he was so exceed-

ingly good, that he didn't need a copy of the Word of God, and wouldn't have one.' — 'Well,' said the man, completely conquered, 'if the President can take one, I suppose I can,' as he reached out his hand and received it!"

Volumes might be filled with such incidents from the official life of President Lincoln, giving the right key to his character. They show unusual personal worth, — a wealth of virtues that few public men have ever possessed. And here is found one of the secrets of his remarkable popularity.

Certain writers have so well described Mr. Lincoln in some of these particulars, that we quote from two or three of them, as follows: —

One writer, who enjoyed excellent facilities for observation, a few months since, says, —

"Those who know the habits of President Lincoln are not surprised to hear of his personal visit to some general, nor would any such be astonished to know that he was in New York at any time. If he wanted to see any thing or anybody, he would be as likely to go as to send. He has an orbit of his own; and no one can tell where he will be, or what he will do, from any thing done yesterday. If he wants a newspaper, he is quite as likely to go out and get it as he is to send after it. If he wants to see the Secretary of State, he generally goes out, and makes a call. At night, from ten to twelve, he usually makes a tour all around, — now at Seward's, and then at Halleck's; and, if Burnside was nearer, he would see him each night before he went to bed. Those who know his habits, and want to see him late at night, follow him round from place to place; and the last search generally brings him up at Gen. Halleck's, as he can get the latest army intelligence there. Whoever else is asleep or indolent, the President is wide awake and around.

"Beneath all the playfulness of his mind burns a solemn earnestness of patriotism; amid his prudence, a great courage; in all his gentleness and compliance, a determined grasp of the reins, and a

firmness not inferior to Gen. Jackson's, though without its passion and caprice. He is a wise, true, sagacious, earnest, and formidable leader."

APPEARANCE AND DAILY LIFE.

"Perley," the Washington correspondent of the "Boston Journal," gives the following view of Mr. Lincoln's daily life:—

"Mr. Lincoln is an early riser; and he thus is able to devote two or three hours each morning to his voluminous private correspondence, besides glancing at a city paper. At nine, he breakfasts; then walks over to the war-office to read such war-telegrams as they give him (occasionally some are withheld), and to have a chat with Gen. Halleck on the military situation, in which he takes a great interest. Returning to the White House, he goes through with his morning's mail, in company with a private secretary, who makes a minute of the reply which he is to make; and others the President retains, that he may answer them himself. Every letter receives attention; and all which are entitled to a reply receive one, no matter how they are worded, or how inelegant the chirography may be.

"Tuesdays and Fridays are cabinet-days; but, on other days, visitors at the White House are requested to wait in the ante-chamber, and send in their cards. Sometimes, before the President has finished reading his mail, Louis will have a handful of pasteboard; and, from the cards laid before him, Mr. Lincoln has visitors ushered in, giving precedence to acquaintances. Three or four hours do they pour in, in rapid succession, nine out of ten asking offices; and patiently does the President listen to their application. Care and anxiety have furrowed his rather homely features: yet occasionally he is 'reminded of an anecdote;' and good-humored glances beam from his clear gray eyes, while his ringing laugh shows that he is not 'used up' yet. The simple and natural manner in which he delivers his thoughts, makes him appear, to those visiting him, like an earnest, affectionate friend. He makes little parade of his legal science, and rarely indulges in speculative propositions, but states his ideas in plain Anglo-Saxon, illuminated by many lively images and pleasing allusions, which seem to flow as if in obedience to a resistless impulse of his nature.

"About four o'clock, the President declines seeing any more company, and often accompanies his wife in her carriage to take a drive. He is fond of horseback exercise; and, when passing the summers at home, used generally to go in the saddle. The President dines at six; and it is rare that some personal friends do not grace the round dining-table, where he throws off the cares of office, and reminds those who have been in Kentucky of the old-school gentleman who used to dispense generous hospitality there. From the dinner-table, the party retire to the crimson drawing-room, where coffee is served, and where the President passes the evening, unless some dignitary has a special interview. Such is the almost unvarying daily life of Abraham Lincoln, whose administration will rank next in importance to that of Washington in our national annals."

An English writer says of him, —

"On one occasion, when the writer had the honor of meeting the President, the company was a small one, with most of whom he was personally acquainted. He was much at his ease. There was a look of depression about his face, which was habitual to him, even before his child's death. It was strange to me to witness the perfect terms of equality on which he appeared to be with everybody. Occasionally some one of his interlocutors called to him, 'Mr. President;' but the habit was to address him simply as 'Sir.' It was not, indeed, till we were introduced to him, that we were aware of his presence. He talked little, and seemed to prefer others talking to him, rather than to talk himself; but, when he spoke, his remarks were always shrewd and sensible. You would never say that he was a gentleman: you would still less say that he was not one. There are some women, about whom no one ever thinks in connection with beauty one way or the other; and there are men to whom the epithet of gentleman-like or ungentleman-like appears utterly incongruous, and of such Mr. Lincoln is one: still there is about him an utter absence of pretension, and an evident desire to be courteous to everybody, which is the essence, if not the outward form, of good-breeding. There is a softness, too, about his smile, and a sparkle of dry humor about his eye, which redeem the expression of his face, and remind us more of the late Dr. Arnold [the renowned English teacher], as a child's recollection recalls him, than of any face we can call to mind."

NOBLE QUALITIES.

Still another writer has drawn a portrait of Mr. Lincoln, so concisely, and yet so faithfully, that we cannot omit that portion of it which is most happily expressed. He says of him, —

"His questions are answers; and his answers, questions; his guesses prophecies, and fulfilment ever beyond his promise; honest, yet shrewd; simple, yet reticent; heavy, yet energetic; never despairing, never sanguine; careless in forms, conscientious in essentials; never sacrificing a good servant once trusted, never deserting a good principle once adopted; not afraid of new ideas, nor despising old ones; improving opportunities to confess mistakes; ready to learn; getting at facts; doing nothing when he knows not what to do; hesitating at nothing, when he sees the right; lacking the recognized qualifications of a party leader, and leading his party as no other man can; sustaining his political enemies in Missouri in their defeat, sustaining his political friends in Maryland in their victory; conservative in his sympathies, and radical in his acts; Socratic in his style, and Baconian in his method; his religion consisting in truthfulness, temperance; asking good people to pray for him, and publicly acknowledging in events the hand of God, — yet he stands before you as the type of 'Brother Jonathan,' a not perfect man, and yet more precious than fine gold."

This is a just tribute to Mr. Lincoln, so far as it goes; and surely the man who answers to such a portrait is no common personage. Let us consider more particularly two or three points of character enumerated in the above.

"NEVER DESPAIRING, NEVER SANGUINE." What a blessed element of character for these revolutionary times, especially for our leader! A despairing President would have gone to his grave, months ago; the weight of his responsibilities would have crushed his life in a single year of such public service. On the other hand, a too-sanguine

character would have swamped our cause ere this by incautious measures and reckless expeditions. For such a period as this, hope, caution, and prudence are as necessary as sagacity, wisdom, and patriotism.

"NEVER DESERTING A GOOD PRINCIPLE ONCE ADOPTED." Who ever heard of Abraham Lincoln abandoning a good principle once embraced? When and where has he taken the "back track" since his inauguration? His good principles have carried him onward and upward. If he has been "slow," he has also been *sure*. He has always had his pickets out to guard against surprise. His enemies have called him "vacillating;" but where is the proof of it? Can they specify a single act of his that justly exposes him to this censure? Not one. The record of his administration shows that he has moved "onward, right onward," for liberty, justice, and humanity. If he has not adopted certain measures so soon or hastily as many desired at the time, let them disprove, if they can, that his policy has been the salvation of the nation. We fully believe that coming generations will accord the highest praise to his administration in this respect. Let the reader carefully peruse the following letter of Mr. Lincoln, recently penned in the honesty of his heart, and say if it does not confirm the views that we have expressed:—

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 4, 1864.

To A. G. HODGES, Esq., Frankfort, Ky.

MY DEAR SIR,—You ask me to put in writing the substance of what I verbally said the other day, in your presence, to Gov. Bramlette and Senator Dixon. It was about as follows:—

I am naturally antislavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not see, think, and feel that it was wrong; and yet I have never understood that the Presidency

conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. It was in the oath I took, that I would, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath; nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using the power. I understood, too, that, in ordinary civil administration, this oath even forbade me to practically indulge my primary abstract judgment on the moral question of slavery. I had publicly declared this many times and in many ways; and I aver, that, to this day, I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery. I did understand, however, that my oath to preserve the Constitution to the best of my ability imposed upon me the duty of preserving, by every indispensable means, that Government, that nation, of which that Constitution was the organic law.

Was it possible to lose the nation, and yet preserve the Constitution?

By general law, life and limb must be protected. Yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb.

I feel that measures, otherwise unconstitutional, might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground, and now avow it. I could not feel, that, to the best of my ability, I had even tried to preserve the Constitution, if, to preserve slavery or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of the Government, country, and Constitution altogether.

When, early in the war, Gen. Frémont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When, a little later, Gen. Cameron (then Secretary of War) suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected, because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When, still later, Gen. Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, because I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come.

When, in March, May, and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the Border States to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming of the blacks would come, unless averted by that

measure. They declined the proposition; and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it the Constitution, or of laying the strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter. In choosing it, I hoped for greater gain than loss; but of this I was not entirely confident.

More than a year of trial now shows no loss by it in our foreign relations, none in our home popular sentiment, none in our white military force, — no loss by it anyhow or anywhere. On the contrary, it shows a gain of quite 130,000 soldiers, seamen, and laborers. These are palpable facts, about which, as facts, there can be no cavilling. We have the men, and we could not have had them without the measure. Now, let any Union man, who complains of the measure, test himself by writing down in one line that he is for subduing the Rebellion by force of arms; and the next, that he is for taking these 130,000 men from the Union side, and placing them where they would be but for the measure he condemns. If he cannot face his cause so stated, it is because he cannot face the truth.

I add a word which was not in the verbal conversation. In telling this tale, I attempt no compliment to my own sagacity. I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of three years' struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party or any man devised or expected: God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North as well as you of the South shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

This letter is valuable, as proof that Mr. Lincoln never abandons a good principle once adopted; while as a literary production, replete with sound sense, lofty sentiments, profound logic, true political philosophy, and poetic beauty, it was never surpassed. It will bear comparison with the most felicitous epistolary efforts of the greatest statesmen of this or other lands.

Mrs. Stowe, the celebrated authoress, speaking of the oneness of his purpose, says, —

"Surrounded by all sorts of conflicting claims, by traitors, by half-hearted, timid men, by Border-State men and Free-State men, by radical abolitionists and conservatives, he has listened to all, weighed the words of all; waited, observed; yielded now here, and now there; but in the main *kept one inflexible, honest purpose, and drawn the national ship through.*"

"HONEST, YET SHREWD; CARELESS IN FORMS, CONSCIENTIOUS IN ESSENTIALS." This is another element of Mr. Lincoln's character named in the portraiture, to which we will return. The worth of HONESTY, CONSCIENTIOUSNESS, in a leader now, when treachery and treason have done their worst, no man can estimate. Suppose we had another James Buchanan in the presidential chair now, — a man who has been long known for the opposite of political honesty and conscientiousness: what could loyalty do? Farewell to our Republican Government, farewell to our liberties and national glory, if such a man were our President!

In this hour of peril, we need an honesty at the helm that will inspire confidence in every loyal heart. The bare suspicion of political chicanery in our leader would almost paralyze the arm that is lifted to crush the Rebellion. The suspicion that Gen. M'Clellan was not faithful to our cause sacrificed the confidence of the nation, and doomed him to inglorious retirement. And thus it ought to be. Treachery well-nigh destroyed the Government, and HONESTY alone can save it. Thanks, thanks, that a good Providence has given us a ruler whose honesty is "clear as the sun, fair as the moon," and, to our malignant foes, "terrible as an army with banners"!

Reader, how much do you suppose our enemies would

give for the proof of deceit and political fraud in Abraham Lincoln? It would be worth the price of our national destruction to them, since they might use it to destroy us. Ah! never before did this country have such occasion to glorify HONESTY as now. Never before had the people so great reason to bless the Lord for an honest man, "the noblest work of God."

"DOING NOTHING WHEN HE KNOWS NOT WHAT TO DO." How many men, in this dilemma, rush headlong, hit or miss! Being ambitious, and devoid of prudence and foresight, they conquer perplexity by sacrificing success. But not so with a man of as much sagacity and caution as Mr. Lincoln possesses. He can see no advantage in blind action. If something be lost by waiting for developments, less is gained by a reckless leap in the dark. Better do nothing than to act without intelligence and foresight, especially in a crisis like the present.

But we will not pursue this portrait, except to notice one more point, contained in the sentence, "*Asking good people to pray for him, and publicly acknowledging the hand of God in events.*"

Recall what we have already said of his recognition of divine agency in human affairs. Beginning with his speech on leaving Springfield, and ending with his last proclamation of thanksgiving to God for recent victories, observe that here is a fundamental principle of his religious character. He believes in Providence; "and, believing, he maintains." Frequently he alluded, in his speeches on his presidential tour, to the utter impossibility of foreseeing what the morrow might bring forth to the country; and, at Buffalo, he used the following words of wisdom: "When it is considered that these difficulties are without precedent,

and never have been acted upon by any individual situated as I am, it is most proper that I should wait, and see the developments, and get all the light possible." And in his Inaugural Address, after speaking of what he should do, he very wisely threw in this paragraph:—

"The course here indicated will be followed, *unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper;* and, in every case and exigency, my best discretion will be exercised *according to the circumstances actually existing.*"

Now, the full import of these passages, interpreted by his subsequent acts, is an honest recognition of Providence, and a determination to follow its teachings. To the Synod of the Baltimore Old-School Presbyterians, who paid their respects to him in a body, he replied:—

"I can only say in this case, as in so many others, that I am profoundly grateful for the respect, given in every variety of form which it can be given, from the religious bodies of the country. I saw, upon taking my position here, I was going to have an administration, if an administration at all, of extraordinary difficulty.

"It was, without exception, a time of the greatest difficulty this country ever saw. I was early brought to a lively reflection, that nothing in my power whatever, or others, to rely upon, would succeed, without direct assistance of the Almighty. I have often wished that I was a more devout man than I am: nevertheless, amid the greatest difficulties of my administration, when I could not see any other resort, I would place my whole reliance in God, knowing all would go well, and that he would decide for the right.

"I thank you, gentlemen, in the name of the religious bodies which you represent, and in the name of our common Father, for this expression of respect. I cannot say more."

Similar thoughts he had expressed before to the Synod of the New-School Presbyterians, and since then to the

National Conference of Methodists, and the General Association of Baptists; all of which we love to mention, as showing his firm reliance upon God for success.

Then, too, his frequent proclamations for days of fasting and prayer, as well as days of thanksgiving, indicate the strength of his convictions on this point. These requests have been so often repeated, that cavillers, whom posterity will rebuke for their godless ridicule, have sneeringly referred, in consequence, to the "pious air of Washington."

If the reader will turn to his recent memorable letter to A. G. Hodges, Esq., already quoted, he will find this frank avowal: "I CLAIM NOT TO HAVE CONTROLLED EVENTS, BUT CONFESS PLAINLY THAT EVENTS HAVE CONTROLLED ME." This is but another laconic and happy way of expressing his purpose to follow the leadings of Divine Providence. He continues: "Now, at the end of three years' struggle, the nation's condition is *not what either party or any man devised or expected: God alone can claim it.* Whither it is tending seems plain. *If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God.*"

Let sceptics and critics pour contempt upon this paragraph, if they will: we know of nothing in the annals of statesmanship that is more sublime. For the head of a great nation thus to declare fearlessly that the hand of God is guiding and controlling events, and that he has recognized the truth, and *will continue* to recognize it, in the face of the world, is the climax of moral sublimity. We have hope of a nation having such a ruler. It presents

such a striking contrast with the too-frequent infidelity and godless disregard of Jehovah that pervades political circles, as to fill our hearts with admiration. Well may the American people rejoice in this new era of Christian rule. That we have a President who dares write these sincere sentiments of his heart, and publish them to the nation, is cause for gratitude. A STUDENT OF PROVIDENCE IN THE WHITE HOUSE! Let the Church of the living God hold up his hands with their supplications, as Aaron and Hur sustained the hand of Moses until Israel conquered!

A gentleman, whose boyhood and early manhood were spent in intimate association with Abraham Lincoln, and who has maintained that acquaintance to the present time, although they politically differ, writes to the author as follows: "The fact is, you never saw such a man as Abraham Lincoln. You may think that I exaggerate; but I do not: every word that I have written is true. You cannot exaggerate in speaking of his character. I will say here, that we differ wholly in political matters. He has always been a Henry Clay Whig, and I have always been a Jackson Democrat. Yet, when he was nominated for the Presidency, I felt that it *was my duty to vote for him; and I did.*"

We trust that there will be many Democrats of like conscientiousness and consistency at the next Presidential election.

Even that now Copperhead journal, the "New-York World," spoke as follows since Mr. Lincoln became President:—

"Without any advantages of wealth, birth, education, manners, personal appearance, personal connections, or experience in

public life, President Lincoln has taught the country to confide in him with almost implicit trust. This is the most extraordinary moral phenomenon of which we have any recollection. How are we to account for it?

"He is a living exemplification of the important truth, that, of all the elements of influence, none is so powerful as character. Knowledge, to be sure, is power, according to the adage; so wealth is power, social position is power, great capacity for political intrigue is power, eloquence and brilliant intellectual gifts are power: but it is much more emphatically true that character is power. Mr. Lincoln has become so strong in the esteem of his countrymen, because he has given evidence of a strong character, held in subordination to high moral principle, or rather because his uncommon strength of character consists in the robustness of his moral nature."

Much has been said about Mr. Lincoln's correct habits. "He has no vices," remarked a distinguished statesman; and the remark is true. His most intimate friend never witnessed the least approximation to a vice in Mr. Lincoln. He never smokes, never uses intoxicating drinks, never utters a profane word, or engages in games of chance. Such an example is unusual in the political world. It is not unfrequently the case, that good men sacrifice their principles wholly when they enter the political arena. It requires moral courage and deep religious conviction to withstand the temptations of this public sphere; and Mr. Lincoln is one of the few statesmen who have proved themselves equal to the position. His habits are as simple and pure to-day as they were in his early manhood.

An English correspondent writes that he was spending the evening with a small company of gentlemen in Washington, among whom was Mr. Lincoln. In the course of the evening, cigars were passed to all but the President; the host remarking with a smile, "Mr. Lincoln has no

vices." — "That is a doubtful compliment," answered the President. "I recollect once being outside a stage in Illinois, and a man sitting by me offered me a cigar. I told him I had no vices. He said nothing, smoked for some time, and then grunted out, 'It's my experience, that folks who have no vices have plaguy few virtues.'" The company could but admire Mr. Lincoln's way of adhering to his principles, and, at the same time, pleasing his associates, instead of giving offence.

Among the numerous delegations who have waited upon the President to utter complaints, make suggestions, or proffer friendly salutations, was a large delegation of the Sons of Temperance. They presented an address on the subject of intemperance in the army; to which Mr. Lincoln replied, in substance: —

"When he was a young man, long ago, before the Sons of Temperance, as an organization, had an existence, he, in a humble way, made temperance speeches; and he thought he might say, that, to this day, he had never, by his example, belied what he then said. As to the suggestions for the purpose of the advancement of the cause of temperance in the army, he could not respond to them. To prevent intemperance in the army is the aim of a great part of the rules and articles of war. It is part of the law of the land, and was so, he presumed, long ago, to dismiss officers for drunkenness. He was not sure, that, consistently with the public service, more could be done than has been done. All, therefore, he could promise, was to have a copy of the address submitted to the principal departments, and have it considered whether it contains any suggestions which will improve the cause of temperance and repress drunkenness in the army any better than is already done. He thought the reasonable men of the world have long since agreed that drunkenness is one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, of all evils among mankind. That is not a matter of dispute. All men agree that intemperance is a great curse, but differ about the cure. The suggestion that it

existed to a great extent in the army was true; but, whether that was the cause of defeats, he knew not: but he did know that there was a great deal of it on the other side; therefore they had no right to beat us on that ground."

It appears that he was once a temperance lecturer, in a humble way; and he is not ashamed to own it now that he is President. Indeed, he never did any thing that he is ashamed of, so far as we can learn. He has no cause for shame, when his acts have always been on the side of right. One of the most honorable and able lawyers of Illinois, for seventeen years the law-partner of Mr. Lincoln, closes a letter to the author with the following sentence: "*Abraham Lincoln never did a mean thing in his life.*" Surely a man of whom this can be truthfully said need not be ashamed to own his acts.

When the Petition of the Loyal Women of Massachusetts, on the subject of intemperance in the army, was presented to the President by a distinguished statesman, he took the instrument, carefully read it, and then, as carefully folding it in his hand, exclaimed, "Dear, good souls! if they only knew how much I had tried to remedy this great evil, they would be rejoiced."

Reader, consider, for a moment, how much the nation owes to a *temperate* President. Suppose he were the opposite in his habits, addicted to the habitual use of strong drink, and liable, with all such persons, to become intemperate, especially when the great pressure and excitement of public business increases the craving for some stimulus: how much greater would be our perils! It is another cause for thankfulness that we have a total-abstinence man in this high office. We know that his brain will never reel under the deadly influence of strong drink; that he will not

become disqualified for his office on this account. Battles may be lost, and disaster befall our arms in the field, in consequence of the drunkenness of commanding officers; but the Ship of State will never founder or sink because the pilot is intoxicated. A clear head and a pure heart, iron-clad against the seductions of office or honor, presides at the helm. The very highest authority recognizes the fact, that such a man is born to rule; or, at least, that the absence of self-government exposes the ruler and his cause to ruin. "*He that hath no rule over his own spirit is like a city that is broken down and without walls.*"

INTELLECTUAL GREATNESS.

The enemies of Mr. Lincoln have frequently ridiculed his mental abilities. The masterly power with which he has handled the most difficult questions of his Administration is a sufficient refutation of all such political vituperation. Also, before he was elevated to this post of distinction, it was demonstrated that he was mentally able to cope with his most formidable adversaries. His memorable contest with Judge Douglas, in Illinois, proved that he was superior to his opponent. If Douglas was intellectually a great man, as no person will doubt, then Abraham Lincoln is greater; for, by general consent, he worsted the judge in every debate, and won the popular vote of the State. Even many of the friends of the "Little Giant" confessed that Mr. Lincoln left him in a dilapidated condition. No man can read these debates, with an unprejudiced mind, without according to the conceded victor superiority of intellect.

A distinguished scholar, who listened to one of his speeches in that remarkable campaign, says, —

"He then proceeded to defend the Republican party. Here he charged Mr. Douglas with doing nothing for freedom; with disregarding the rights and interests of the colored man; and, for about forty minutes, he spoke with a power that we have seldom heard equalled. There was a grandeur in his thoughts, a comprehensiveness in his arguments, and a binding force in his conclusions, which were perfectly irresistible. The vast throng were silent as death: every eye was fixed upon the speaker, and all gave him serious attention. He was the tall man eloquent: his countenance glowed with animation, and his eye glistened with an intelligence that made it lustrous. He was no longer awkward and ungainly, but graceful, bold, commanding."

It was in one of these powerful debates with Mr. Douglas that he paid the following eloquent tribute to the Declaration of Independence. The passage is alike creditable to his mental powers, his sympathy for the colored race, his self-abnegation, his advocacy of principles above men, and his earnest appeal to Republicans to stand up for the right. On the whole, it is one of the most remarkable passages of forensic eloquence on record.

"These communities (the thirteen Colonies), by their representa tives in old Independence Hall, said to the world of men, 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are born equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' This was their majestic interpretation of the economy of the universe. This was their lofty and wise and noble understanding of the justice of the Creator to his creatures; yes, gentlemen, to all his creatures, to the whole great family of man. In their enlightened belief, nothing stamped with the divine image and likeness was sent into the world to be trodden on, and degraded and imbruted by its fellows. They grasped not only the race of men then living, but they reached forward, and seized upon the furthest posterity.

They created a beacon to guide their children and their children's children, and the countless myriads who should inhabit the earth in other ages. Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants; and so they established these great self-evident truths, that when, in the distant future, some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine, that none but rich men, or none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men, were entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence, and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began, so that truth and justice and mercy, and all the humane and Christian virtues, might not be extinguished from the land; so that no man would hereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the great principles on which the temple of Liberty was being built.

"Now, my countrymen, if you have been taught doctrines conflicting with the great landmarks of the Declaration of Independence; if you have listened to suggestions which would take away from its grandeur, and mutilate the fair symmetry of its proportions; if you have been inclined to believe that all men are not created equal in those inalienable rights enumerated by our chart of liberty, — let me entreat you to come back, return to the fountain whose waters spring close by the blood of the Revolution. Think nothing of me, take no thought for the political fate of any man whomsoever, but come back to the truths that are in the Declaration of Independence.

"You may do any thing with me you choose, if you will but heed these sacred principles. You may not only defeat me for the Senate, but you may take me and put me to death. While pretending no indifference to earthly honors, I *do claim* to be actuated in this contest by something higher than an anxiety for office. I charge you to drop every paltry and insignificant thought for any man's success. It is nothing; I am nothing; Judge Douglas is nothing. *But do not destroy that immortal emblem of humanity, — the Declaration of American Independence.*"

We might quote the words of many distinguished scholars and statesmen concerning Mr. Lincoln's intellectual

abilities; but we have room only for a brief paragraph from a speech of Senator Trumbull:—

"He studied, and for a time practised, the business of a land-surveyor; then he entered into the study of the law, and rapidly rose to the high distinction *of the ablest lawyer in the North-west.* He is a giant; and, without the prefix 'Little' to it, a *giant in intellect* as well as in stature."

Nor is this high opinion of him confined to our own country. From a letter of the Paris correspondent of the "New-York Times," we learn what the leading men of France, who have not caught the mania of hostility to our form of Government, think of our President. He writes,—

"The popularity of Mr. Lincoln has been as much advanced abroad by his late acts as in the United States. His maintenance of the act of emancipation in his Annual Message has given immense satisfaction to all those not prejudiced by special reasons for the Rebellion; and his sagacity, straightforwardness, and honesty, in the midst of such confusion and excitement, called from M. Laboulaye the other day, at the College de France, before an immense audience of the *élite* of the intellectual world, the exclamation, that Mr. Lincoln was 'a greater man than Cæsar!' So, too, I heard a leading French politician say lately, 'You Americans don't appreciate Mr. Lincoln at his proper value. No monarch in Europe could carry on such a colossal war in front, while harassed by so many factions and fault-finders behind. No: you don't give him his due.' From a European point of view, the merit of Mr. Lincoln is, in effect, immense; but, in a republic, it is the people, and not the President, who carry on the war. The personal compliment paid to Mr. Lincoln in the above remark, is, however, none the less valuable; and, on every side, I hear people begin to say, that Mr. Lincoln will merit more than a biography: he will merit a history."

"A GREATER MAN THAN CÆSAR!" This may not be

true; but it is the opinion of a distinguished Frenchman in his own country.

Similar sentiments have been expressed in England again and again by public men, though we have room but for a single quotation. Goldwin Smith, Esq., an Englishman of decided ability, has, in a recent "Letter to a Whig Member of the Southern Independence Association," made so fair and noble a plea for our loyal cause, that he deserves the gratitude of every American patriot. Of the President he says,—

"He was chosen out of the mass by the ordinary method of election, not called forth to meet a terrible emergency; yet he has met the most terrible of all emergencies with sense and self-possession, *as well, probably, as it would have been met by any European sovereign or statesman whom you could name.*

ILLUSTRATIVE ANECDOTES.

Again: Mr. Lincoln has been represented as a great story-teller; and the press has teemed with anecdotes ascribed to him, until many conclude that he never speaks without telling a story. A very erroneous idea has thus been impressed upon the public mind. That Mr. Lincoln possesses a remarkable facility for using anecdotes to illustrate his subject, and that he has few equals in the pleasant repartee, we admit; but he has not the habit of employing these on all occasions, important and unimportant, as many letter-writers assert. We have the authority of his most intimate friends, who have been more with him, and seen more of him, than any other persons, for making this denial. Many of the anecdotes, too, which are ascribed to him by the press, he never uttered: they were

manufactured by sensational writers. We have the very highest authority for asserting, that of one column and a half of anecdotes, published last winter in the "New-York Evening Post," and accredited to Mr. Lincoln, *only two of them are his.* And the same is true of a pamphlet recently issued in New York, entitled "Old Abe's Jokes." Only a fractional part of them have the least foundation in truth.

Those coarse, vulgar, and almost profane anecdotes ascribed to him by the press are fabrications. His stories and repartees are always pointed, pure, and honorable. He never descends to undignified and low illustrations to point an argument or afford entertainment.

Among the good stories ascribed to him, and correctly so, are the following, which we think the reader will say are no disparagement to the President's head or heart: —

"A gentleman called upon the President, and solicited a pass for Richmond. 'Well,' said the President, 'I would be very happy to oblige, if my passes were respected; but the fact is, sir, I have, within the past two years, given passes to two hundred and fifty thousand men to go to Richmond, and not one has got there yet.'

"When the Sherman Expedition, which captured Port Royal, was fitting, there was great curiosity to learn where it had gone. A person, visiting the Chief Magistrate at the White House, importuned him to disclose the destination to him. 'Will you keep it entirely secret?' asked the President. 'Oh, yes! upon my honor.' — 'Well,' said the President, 'I'll tell you.' Assuming an air of great mystery, and drawing the man close to him, he kept him a moment awaiting the revelation with an open mouth and great anxiety. 'Well,' said he in a loud whisper which was heard all over the room, 'the expedition has gone to — sea!'"

As a very pleasant way of rebuking that annoyance to which Mr. Lincoln has been subjected, we think the above

examples are worthy of imitation; and, for exposing the unreasonableness of many complaints to which he has been obliged to listen, the following are excellent:—

"On a late occasion, when the White House was open to the public, a farmer from one of the border counties of Virginia told the President, that the Union soldiers, in passing his farm, had helped themselves, not only to hay, but to his horse; and he hoped the President would urge the proper officer to consider his claim immediately.

"'Why, my dear sir,' replied Mr. Lincoln blandly, 'I couldn't think of such a thing. If I consider individual cases, I should find work enough for twenty Presidents.'

"The man urged his needs persistently. Mr. Lincoln declined good-naturedly.

"'But,' said the persevering sufferer, 'couldn't you just give me a line to Col. —— about it? just one line?'

"'Ha, ha!' responded Mr. Lincoln, crossing his legs the other way, 'that reminds me of Jack Chase, of Illinois. He was lumberman on the Illinois; and he was steady and sober, and the best raftsman on the river. It was quite a trick, twenty-five years ago, to take the logs over the rapids; but he was skilful with a raft, and always kept her straight in the channel. Finally a steamer was put on, and Jack (he's dead now, poor fellow!) was made captain of her. He always used to take the wheel, going through the rapids. One day, when the boat was plunging and wallowing along the boiling current, and his utmost vigilance was being exercised to keep her in the narrow channel, a boy pulled his coat, exclaiming, 'Say, captain, I wish you would just stop the boat a minute: *I've lost my apple overboard!*'

"Some gentlemen were present at the White House, from the West, excited and troubled about the commissions or omissions of the Administration. The President heard them patiently, and then replied: 'Gentlemen, suppose all the property you were worth was in gold, and you had put it in the hands of Blondin to carry across the Niagara River on a rope: would you shake the cable, or keep shouting out to him, "Blondin! stand up a little straighter; Blondin! stoop a little more, go a little faster, lean a little more to the north,

lean a little more to the south"? No: you would hold your breath, as well as your tongue, and keep your hands off until he was safe over. The Government are carrying an immense weight. Untold treasures are in their hands. They are doing the very best they can. Don't badger them. Keep silence, and we'll get you safe across.' This simple illustration answered the complaints of half an hour, and not only silenced but charmed the audience."

HIS ADMINISTRATION.

The success of Mr. Lincoln's Administration can be measured only by considering the difficulties which he has overcome. No ruler ever entered upon his office with more to dishearten and embarrass. The outgoing Administration had proved treacherous and abominably corrupt. Treason was perpetrated in the cabinet, with the consent, if not with the complicity, of the imbecile President. Secretary Cobb had robbed the public treasury of six millions of dollars, and well-nigh plunged the nation into bankruptcy; Secretary Floyd had stolen one hundred and fifteen thousand stands of arms from our arsenals, and sent them South; Secretary Toucey, though a New-England man, (shame on his treasonable deeds!) had sent all our navy, except two vessels, into distant ports, whence they could not readily be recalled; and President Buchanan had winked at this barefaced treason in his cabinet, either from shameful cowardice, or wicked sympathy with the conspirators in their hellish plot.

The departments of State at Washington were filled with traitors. Every day they were resigning their posts, and going South to join the rebels. It was almost impossible to tell who were loyal, and who were not. Few clerks, comparatively, were free from suspicion.

Thus President Lincoln found an empty treasury, empty arsenals, a scattered navy, and treasonable servants, on assuming the duties of his office. He could command scarcely men and means sufficient for the defence of the capital. The credit of the Government, also, had been impaired by the infamous conduct of Buchanan's cabinet; and how to raise money to carry on the war was a perplexing question to be answered.

Nor was the most dangerous foe in his front. In his rear, at the North, were thousands of misguided partisans, whose sympathies were with the rebels, and whose efforts to embarrass the Administration ought to have doomed them to a felon's cell. They were but a division or wing of the great Southern army of traitors, seeking to destroy the nation by a flank movement, in which the infamy of their political spite was manifest.

The rebels, too, had seized many of our forts and arsenals, together with custom-houses and other public buildings, and unfurled the flag of Secession on almost every foot of slave territory. The Border States were mainly in their possession, and they really expected to carry the whole of them out of the Union. To this end, fraud, violence, and bloodshed were employed without let or hinderance.

Then England and France were conniving with the South, and complicating our national affairs by their ungenerous and inconsistent acts. At a time when they ought to have expressed their unfeigned friendship for our endangered Government, they basely lent their influence to the South, in order to hasten the overthrow of this rival nation.

Thus Mr. Lincoln was reduced to the necessity of

creating an army and navy, a national credit and treasury, in order to inspire confidence at home and abroad, that the flag of the Union might be carried back in triumph over the whole area of Rebellion.

Never did such a task devolve upon a ruler before; and how well he has succeeded, let the hopeful position of our cause at the present time, the confidence of civilian and soldier, the success of our arms in recovering most of the forts and arsenals held by the insurgents, with three-fourths of the territory which they controlled at the commencement of the war, — let these achievements answer. Let the improved condition of our foreign relations, in which Southern duplicity has been exposed by Northern vigilance and uprightness, bear testimony to Mr. Lincoln's sagacity. And, above all, let the progress of freedom, and the wonderful change of public opinion on the question of slavery, keeping pace with Mr. Lincoln's Administration, as well as the advancement of the national credit, and the utter discomfiture of rebel sympathizers at the North, — let these results settle the question of his success.

We repeat, history does not furnish another example of a nation conducting such a mighty struggle with an army and navy extemporized as by the power of an enchanter, and all the while wonderfully developing its moral and physical resources, and rising higher and higher in national greatness as the struggle grows in magnitude and desperation; and for this the country is more indebted to Abraham Lincoln, whose hope and courage, sagacity and prudence, honesty and mental ability, have conducted the campaign, than to any other man.

A writer in the "North-American Review" says, "Hitherto the wisdom of the President's measures has been justified

by the fact, that they have always resulted in more firmly uniting public opinion." This is the highest proof of his statesmanship. With two violent factions on almost every question pressing their respective claims, he has pursued an even-handed course, that has disarmed their animosity, and resulted in greater harmony. How often has it been said of this and that measure of the President, "It will divide the North, and distract the country"! This was said of the draft, the release of Mason and Slidell, the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, the proclamation of emancipation, and the employment of soldiers in the army. But when and where have these measures divided the loyal people? They were never so well united as now. In all these measures they have acquiesced; and there is, at present, greater unanimity with them than there could have been without them. The complaints against *coercion* long since died away, and emancipation is very generally accepted as the legitimate result of the war. At first, there was a great outcry against receiving slaves into our lines; but now they are armed and equipped according to law, and eulogized for their courage in battle. The same fault-finders, who thought that the nation would tumble to pieces if colored men were employed as soldiers, are now among the loudest in their praise of negro bravery.

It is quite amusing to review the charges that have been brought against Mr. Lincoln. One side has accused him of being too conservative; the other, of being too radical. The conservatives charged him with waging war for the destruction of slavery: the radicals denounced him for doing little or nothing for liberty. One party have called him a tyrant and usurper: another has complained of his leniency toward traitors and their sympathizers. He has

gone too fast for some: he has been altogether too slow for others. Many have cursed his warlike propensities; not a few have deplored his disposition to adopt pacific measures. With some, his despotic rule endangered our liberties; with others, they were imperilled for the want of it. Thus it has been, *pro* and *con.*; and still the President has pursued the even tenor of his way, consulting his cabinet, hearing complaints, judging for himself, studying Providence, and looking to God for success; and now all these matters of violent discussion are well-nigh obsolete in the progress of events, and the people are rallying around their noble standard-bearer with more harmony than the most sanguine of them ever anticipated. We do not assert that all the glory of this remarkable change and union should be ascribed to Mr. Lincoln; for, with him, we recognize a higher agency in this wonderful revolution.

In regard to Mr. Lincoln's success and popularity, even the New-York correspondent of the "London Times" wrote, months ago, before the opposition was stimulated by the thought of the next Presidential election: —

"There can be no doubt that the President is the most popular man in the United States. Without education or marked ability, without the personal advantages of a fine presence or courteous manners, and placed unexpectedly in a position of unparalleled difficulty and danger, he has so conducted himself, amid the storm of passion that rages around him, as to have won the good opinion of everybody.

"There is not a journal in the country that speaks of him, except with high respect; there is not a soldier in the field who does not love and honor him; and there is not a man in private life, whatever may be his political opinions, or his views upon the origin, conduct, or progress of the war, who does not cheerfully admit that Mr. Lincoln has shown himself equal to his work, and rescued the presidential office from the contempt into which it was falling.

"The explanation is to be found in his manly common sense and his unquestionable honesty. Incorrupt amid the corruption, persevering amid the vacillation, and single-minded amid the false pertence and tortuous double-dealing, of three-fourths of the public men with whom he has been brought into contact, he has concentrated upon himself, without seeking it, an amount of confidence that Washington himself never enjoyed, and of popularity that was only heaped upon that patriot's memory after death had sanctified his claim to veneration."

The heartless insincerity of the men who have raised the cry of "Peace, peace!" against Mr. Lincoln's Administration, is sufficiently exposed by the gross inconsistency of their deeds. When men like Franklin Pierce, who played his part in the infamous Mexican War, that can be defended by no principles of humanity or righteousness, talk about the injustice and cruelty of warring against the rebels, it is plain to see their meaning. It is not probable that politicians of the baser sort, like Seymour and Woods, who connived at the violence and murder of a New-York mob, are very conscientious in their denunciation of the President's way of putting down the Rebellion. Men who have no scruples in creating animosities, and fomenting strife at the North, cannot be very honest in their fears that the Government will not deal justly and mercifully with the rebel South. The sham of all such opposition to the Administration is apparent; and the major part of the hostility to Mr. Lincoln is precisely of this character.

The writer in the "North-American Review" to whom we have referred has so happily rebuked one or two things in this line of opposition, that we make a brief quotation. Speaking of Mr. Lincoln and his enemies, he says, —

"At first he was so slow, that he tired out all those who see no evidence of progress but in blowing up the engine; then he was so

fast, that he took the breath away from those who think there is no getting on safely while there is a spark of fire under the boilers. God is the only being who has time enough; but a prudent man, who knows how to seize occasion, can commonly make a shift to find as much as he needs. Mr. Lincoln, as it seems to us in reviewing his career, though we have sometimes in our impatience thought otherwise, has always waited, as a wise man should, till the right moment brought up all his reserves."

Again: "We have no sympathy to spare for the pretended anxieties of men, who, only two years gone, were willing that Jefferson Davis should break all the Ten Commandments together, and would now impeach Mr. Lincoln for a scratch on the surface of the tables where they are engraved."

This class of people are the authors of the wail that has been raised against "arbitrary arrests," as they call them. Because the President, faithful to his oath of office, which obligates him to set aside the writ of *habeas corpus* when it is necessary for the public safety, has arrested men who are in complicity with the rebels, and doing all they can to aid the enemies of their country, this groundless and miserable cry of hostility has been raised. True loyal souls, all through the free States, feel that, if more Southern traitors, like Marshal Kane, Vallandigham, and their associate conspirators, had been arrested and imprisoned, it would not only have been an act of clear justice, but our cause would have been greatly promoted. The loyal people generally approve these arrests of treasonable men, and posterity will wonder that no more of this class were deprived of their liberty to aid the rebels.

The enemies of the Administration made all the tumult possible over the President's suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, when they knew perfectly well, or ought to have known, that it was done under that provision of the

Constitution, which, in cases of invasion or rebellion, permits the writ to be suspended when the public safety requires it. Also an act of Congress, approved March 3, 1863, empowered the President to put in force this safeguard. In his opinion, and in the opinion of all true, loyal men, the time had come for using this stringent measure of public defence. The very men who raised the outcry against the President for this fearless act were doing all they could to discourage enlistments, multiply deserters, and embarrass the Government; and the wisdom of this act of Mr. Lincoln is learned from the fact, that it greatly circumscribed their traitorous business. The country has reason to rejoice that the President had the boldness to adopt this necessary measure.

The friends of Gen. M'Clellan have attempted to shield him from disgrace by asserting that the President interfered with his plans, and did not sustain him. Happily, we have a tribunal that proves the injustice and falsehood of this allegation. The testimony before the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War shows that Gen. M'Clellan had his own way, and was amply sustained by the President and War Department. (See Part I. of Report on Conduct of the War.) Indeed, that Report does much more. It proves, by the most incontrovertible evidence, that the President is a more competent military leader than M'Clellan himself, if the latter was *sincere* in all his measures. Let the reader mark well this point. We assert, and will prove, that, if Gen. M'Clellan was *sincere* in his views and measures, Mr. Lincoln is the better general of the two. Among the many points of interest established before the Committee are the following: —

The President urged that so large an army should be divided into corps, for the better handling of it; and every military officer whom he consulted indorsed his opinion. Yet Gen. M'Clellan steadily opposed the measure; so that, as the Committee on the Conduct of the War say (Part I. page 7), "the division of the army corps was not even begun until after the movement of the army in March (1862) had commenced, *and then only in pursuance of the direct and repeated orders of the President.*"

The Committee add, "Gen. M'Clellan, however, *continued to oppose* the organization of the army into army corps, as will be seen from the following despatch to him from the Secretary of War, dated May 9, 1862:—

"The President is unwilling to have the army-corps organization broken up (M'Clellan insisted upon breaking it up); and yet he is unwilling that the commanding-general shall be trammelled and embarrassed in actual skirmishing, collision with the enemy, and on the eve of an expected great battle. You, therefore, may *temporarily* suspend that organization in the army under your immediate command, and adopt any you see fit, until further orders."

Gen. M'Clellan stood alone in his views upon this subject, while the views of the President were sustained by every other general. The Committee say, that the testimony of the generals before them was "remarkably unanimous" for the army corps. Subsequent experience, too, has sustained the President's measure. The President said, in his letter to Gen. M'Clellan of May 9, 1862, "I ordered the army-corps organization, not only on the unanimous opinion of the twelve generals of divisions, but also on the unanimous opinion of every *military man* I could get an opinion from, and every modern military authority, yourself only excepted."

Again: in the fall of 1861, the President desired to adopt measures to prevent the rebels blockading the Potomac. Subsequently he seconded the efforts of the Navy Department to effect this object, which could be accomplished only by the combined action of the army and navy. But Gen. M'Clellan opposed the measure; and finally, by duplicity, frustrated the whole plan: whereupon, the Committee say, "Capt. Craven threw up his command on the Potomac, and applied to be sent to sea; saying, that by remaining here, and doing nothing, he was but losing his own reputation, as the blame for permitting the Potomac to be blockaded would be imputed to him, and to the flotilla under his command." (See Report on Conduct of the War, Part I. pp. 7–9.)

If the views of the President had been carried out, instead of Gen. M'Clellan's, the country would never have experienced the mortification of seeing the Potomac blockaded for months.

Again: the President was opposed to the do-nothing policy of M'Clellan through the winter of '61 and '62. He believed that the rebels should be attacked at Manassas, and not allowed to escape; and his opinion was sustained by the testimony of the best generals before the Committee. The President wrote to Gen. M'Clellan, when the latter was before Yorktown, "You will do me the justice to remember, that I always wished not going down the bay in search of a field, *instead of fighting at or near Manassas*, as only *shifting*, and not *surmounting*, a difficulty; that we should find the same enemy, and the same or equal intrenchments, at either place." (Conduct of the War, Part I. p. 18.)

The country and our ablest generals were long since

convinced that the President was right, and Gen. M'Clellan wrong.

Gen. M'Clellan differed with the President in respect to the time of moving the army of the Potomac. M'Clellan was for *delay;* the President, for *action.* The former believed that our cause *gained* by delay: the latter was satisfied that it *lost* by delay. Therefore the Committee say, "On the 19th of January, 1862, the President of the United States, as Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, issued orders for a general movement for all the armies of the United States, one result of which was the series of victories at Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, &c., which so electrified the country, and revived the hopes of every loyal man in the land." (Conduct of the War, Part I. p. 9.)

If the President had entertained the views of Gen. M'Clellan, such cheering results would not have electrified the country; and, if Gen. M'Clellan had moved his army as early as the President desired, a decisive battle might have been fought at Manassas. Certainly a defeat there could have been no worse for us than the mortifying failure of the Peninsula campaign.

The President, too, differed from M'Clellan in his plan to capture Richmond, although he did not insist that his plan should be adopted. But the following letter, from the President to Gen. M'Clellan, on the subject, is not excelled by any military epistle which Gen. M'Clellan has written, in comprehensiveness, practical wisdom, and foresight:—

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, Feb. 3, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR,—You and I have distinct and different plans for a movement of the Army of the Potomac,—yours to be down

the Chesapeake, up the Rappahannock to Urbanna, and across land to the *terminus* of the railroad on York River; mine to move directly to a point on the railroad south-west of Manassas. If you will give me satisfactory answers to the following questions, I will gladly yield my plan to yours:—

1. Does not your plan involve a greatly larger expenditure of *time* and *money* than mine?

2. Wherein is a victory more certain by your plan than mine?

3. Wherein is a victory *more valuable* by your plan than mine?

4. In fact, would it not be *less* valuable in this, that it would break no great line of the enemy's communication, while mine would?

5. In case of disaster, would not a safe retreat be more difficult by your plan than by mine?

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

Major-Gen. M'CLELLAN.

Again: the President differed with Gen. M'Clellan in respect to the manner of attacking Yorktown. Mr. Lincoln did not wish that he should determine upon a siege, believing that the line of the enemy's works might be pierced there, and Yorktown be isolated, cutting off re-enforcements, and thereby capturing the whole rebel force. The testimony before the Congressional Committee proved that the best officers of the army were of the President's opinion; and Gen. Hamilton made an application for permission to pierce the enemy's line of works with his division; but Gen. M'Clellan took no notice of it. The best officers testified that the siege of four weeks demoralized the army more than an unsuccessful assault would have done. It was proved, also, that the place was not re-enforced until after the rebels saw that a siege was determined upon, so that it would have easily fallen.

The rebel Gen. Magruder, who commanded at Yorktown, said in his official Report, "His [M'Clellan's] skir-

mishers were all thrown forward on this and the succeeding day, and energetically felt our whole line, but were everywhere repulsed by the steadiness of our troops. Thus with five thousand men, *exclusive of the garrisons, we stopped and held in check over one hundred thousand of the enemy.* Every preparation was made in anticipation of another attack by the enemy. The men slept in the trenches and under arms; but, *to my utter surprise, he permitted day after day to elapse without an assault.* In a few days, the object of this delay was apparent. *In every direction, in front of our lines, through the intervening woods and along the open fields,* earthworks began to appear. Through the energetic action of the Government, re-enforcements began to pour in; *and each hour the Army of the Peninsula grew stronger and stronger, until anxiety passed from my mind as to the result of an attack upon us.*"

President Lincoln was sorely troubled by this unnecessary siege; and he wrote to Gen. M'Clellan during its progress, and in the letter he says, "*The country will not fail to note — is noting now — that the present hesitation to move upon an intrenched position is but the story of Manassas repeated.*" — *Conduct of the War,* Part I. pp. 17, 18.

This letter must have stung Gen. M'Clellan to the quick; but he deserved every word of the rebuke; and the nation cannot fail to recognize the superiority of the President's views on the subject over those of M'Clellan. And this is all the more important, if the remark of a prominent officer was true, "We lost Richmond at Yorktown."

We will not multiply examples of this kind, though we might add many more from the Committee's Report. These

will serve our purpose as well as more, and show the truth of our position, that, if Gen. M'Clellan were *sincere* in his views and measures, then President Lincoln possesses the greater military genius of the two.

We will, however, quote a letter which the President wrote to Gen. M'Clellan, Oct. 13, 1862. It exhibits so much greater military knowledge than M'Clellan's proposed views and measures about which the letter discourses, that it is worthy of careful perusal.

It was after the battle of Antietam. The President desired that M'Clellan should cross the Potomac, and pursue and destroy the fleeing rebel army. Many of his generals were in favor of this summary measure. But M'Clellan hesitated, and made excuses for not moving, until the President directed Gen. Halleck to telegraph to him, "Your army *must* move now while the roads are good." One week thereafter, the following letter in question was penned. (See Conduct of War, Part I. pp. 44–46.)

MY DEAR SIR, — You remember my speaking to you of what I called your over-cautiousness. Are you not over-cautious when you assume that you cannot do what the enemy is constantly doing? Should you not claim to be at least his equal in prowess, and act upon the claim?

As I understand, you telegraphed Gen. Halleck that you cannot subsist your army at Winchester, unless the railroad from Harper's Ferry to that point be put in working order. *But the enemy does now subsist his army at Winchester,* at a distance nearly *twice as great* from railroad transportation as you would have to do without the railroad last named. He now wagons from Culpepper Court House, which is just about *twice as far* as you would have to do from Harper's Ferry. He is certainly not more than half as well provided with wagons as you are. I certainly should be pleased for you to have the advantage of the railroad from Harper's Ferry to Win-

chester; but it wastes all the remainder of autumn to give it to you, and, in fact, ignores the question of *time*, which cannot and *must not* be ignored.

Again: one of the standard maxims of war, as you know, is "to operate upon the enemy's communications as much as possible without exposing your own." You seem to act as if this applied *against* you, but cannot apply in your *favor*. Change positions with the enemy, and think you not that he would break your communication with Richmond within the next twenty-four hours? You dread his going into Pennsylvania. But, if he does so in full force, he gives up his communications to you absolutely, and you have nothing to do *but to follow and ruin him:* if he does so with less than full force, *fall upon and beat what is left behind all the easier.*

Exclusive of the water-line, you are now nearer Richmond than the enemy is by the route that you *can* and he *must* take. Why can you not reach there before him, unless you admit *that he is more than your equal on a march?* His route is the arc of a circle, while yours is the chord. The roads are as good on yours as on his.

You know I desired, but did not order, you to cross the Potomac below, instead of above, the Shenandoah and Blue Ridge. My idea was, that this would at once menace the enemy's communications, which I would sieze, if he would permit. If he should move northward, I would follow him closely, holding his communications. If he should prevent our seizing his communications, and move towards Richmond, I would press closely to him, fight him if a favorable opportunity should present, and at least try to beat him to Richmond on the inside track. I say, "try:" if we never try, we shall never succeed. If he make a stand at Winchester, moving neither north nor south, I would fight him there, on the idea, that, if we cannot beat him *when he bears the wastage of coming to us*, we never can *when we bear the wastage of going to him.* This proposition is a simple truth, and is too important to be lost sight of for a moment. In coming to us, he tenders us an advantage which we should not waive. We should not so operate as to merely drive him away. As we must beat him somewhere, or fail finally, *we can do it, if at all, easier near to us than far away.* If we cannot beat the enemy where he now is, we never can he again being within the intrenchments of Richmond.

Recurring to the idea of going to Richmond on the inside track, the facility of supplying from the side-way from the enemy is remarkable, as it were, by the different spokes of a wheel, extending from the hub towards the rim; and this whether you move directly by the chord or on the inside arc, hugging the Blue Ridge more closely. The chord-line, as you see, carries you by Aldie, Haymarket, and Fredericksburg; and you see how turnpikes, railroads, and finally the Potomac, by Aquia Creek, meet you at all points from Washington. The same, only the lines lengthened a little, if you press closer to the Blue Ridge part of the way. The gaps through the Blue Ridge I understand to be about the following distances from Harper's Ferry: to wit, Vestal's, five miles; Gregory's, thirteen; Snicher's, eighteen; Ashby's, twenty-eight; Manassas, thirty-eight; Chester, forty-five; and Thornton's, fifty-three. I should think it preferable to take the route nearest the enemy, disabling him to make an important move without your knowledge, and compelling him to keep his forces together for dread of you. The gaps would enable you to attack, if you should wish. For a great part of the way, you would be practically between the enemy and both Washington and Richmond, enabling us to spare you the greatest number of troops from here. When, at length, running for Richmond ahead of him enables him to move this way, if he does so, turn, and attack him in the rear; but I think he should be engaged long before such point is reached. It is all easy, if our troops *march as well as the enemy;* and *it is unmanly to say they cannot do it.* This letter is in no sense an order.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

Major-Gen. M'CLELLAN.

No plan or document emanating from Gen. M'Clellan, since the outbreak of the Rebellion, bears, so unmistakably as this letter of the President, a correct knowledge of the military position, a clear and comprehensive idea of the manner of conducting the campaign, and a bird's-eye view of the advantages and disadvantages of this way of destroying the rebel army, and capturing Richmond. And we would suggest to those persons who have complained

of the President, at times, because he did not prosecute the war more vigorously, that they cast the blame where it does not belong. With two or three such generals as M'Clellan in the field to manage, a President would have his hands full of business, without any other official duties.

A class of true antislavery men have doubted Mr. Lincoln's fidelity to freedom. Utterly ignoring his antecedents, which have always exhibited the most decided hostility to slavery, they have sometimes talked as if he desired to save slavery. While they cannot put their finger upon a single act or speech of his, since he entered public life, that favors the institution, they nevertheless fear that he is not true to liberty. How strange! Let them ponder the following facts:—

1. The rebels have denounced Mr. Lincoln more for his hostility to slavery than for any thing else. As soon as he was nominated for the Presidency, they began to point to his antislavery antecedents to show that he would not favor the "peculiar institution" of the South.

2. In Congress he distinguished himself as an antislavery man by introducing an amendment to a bill relating to the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. His amendment provided for the *abolition of slavery there;* and it is a somewhat remarkable coincidence, that the man who labored to carry this measure through Congress in 1848 should become the President of the United States twelve years thereafter, and, by his administration, slavery be abolished in that District. He was defeated then; but he is triumphant now.

3. Read the speeches of Judge Douglas in the memorable canvass of Illinois with Mr. Lincoln. One of his chief

points of attack upon Mr. Lincoln was his antislavery antecedents. He endeavored to cast reproach upon him for his opposition to slavery.

4. See what has been accomplished under his Administration. First, slavery abolished in the District of Columbia; second, slavery prohibited for ever in the Territories; third, the Proclamation of Emancipation; fourth, negroes employed as soldiers; fifth, the recognition of Hayti and Liberia; sixth, the African slave-trade restrained as never before. He who is not satisfied with this progress must find frequent occasion to murmur at Divine Providence.

When William Lloyd Garrison, than whom a more radical abolitionist does not live, is satisfied with the President's policy on this score, surely they who have never asked to be considered so thoroughly antislavery ought to be content with these results. Mr. Garrison says, in supporting Mr. Lincoln's Administration, "I think every thing looks auspicious for our country. It seems to me that the omens are all good, and that we are making progress in the right direction every day, and every hour of the day. I believe, that, under this Administration, *we have advanced a quarter of a century in a single year;* and therefore the President, however slow in comparison with our wishes or aspirations, instead of being an 'ox-team,' has beaten even the 'Birmingham train.' . . . My friends, if every thing has not been done that we could desire, or that justice demands, let us see how much has been done. *Is it not far beyond all that we could have rationally expected?* The work of a quarter of a century done up in a single year should make us hopeful and patient, and encourage us to believe that all minor inequalities will be looked after in due season."

Hon. Mr. Arnold, member of the United States House of Representatives, from Illinois, the intimate acquaintance of Mr. Lincoln for twenty years, has so well presented this point in a speech before the House, that we quote the closing paragraphs:—

"However others have doubted and hesitated, Mr. Lincoln's faith in the success of our cause has never been shaken. He has been radical in all that concerns slavery, and conservative in all that relates to liberty.

"His course upon the slavery question has shown his love of freedom, his sagacity, and his wisdom. From the beginning, he has believed that the Rebellion would dig the grave of slavery. He has allowed the suicide of slavery to be consummated by the slaveholders themselves. Many have blamed him for going too fast in his antislavery measures: more, I think, have blamed him for going too slow, of which I have been one. History will perhaps give him credit for acting with great and wise discretion. The calm, intelligent, philosophic abolitionists of the Old World, uninfluenced by the passions which surround and color our judgments, send, across the ocean, congratulation and admiration on the success and wisdom of his course. The three leading features of his Administration on the subject of slavery are,—

"1. His Proclamation of Emancipation.

"2. The employment of negroes as soldiers.

"3. The Amnesty Proclamation, which makes Liberty the corner-stone of reconstruction.

"The Emancipation Proclamation will live in history as one of those great events which measure the advance of the world. The historian will rank it alongside with the acquisition of *Magna Charta* and the Declaration of Independence. This great State paper was issued after the most careful and anxious reflection, and concludes with these solemn words:—

"'And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution and military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.'

"The considerate judgment of mankind on both sides of the

ocean has already approved it; and God has seemed to favor it with a series of victories to our arms never witnessed before its issue, — a series of victories for which we are more indebted to the President than to any other man."

"But," says one of this class, who can scarcely wait for God to bring the children of Israel out of bondage, "the President modified Frémont's proclamation." True; and why? Simply to make it conform to the Act of Congress of Aug. 6, 1861; and surely this ought to have been the case. When the President saw the proclamation, he wrote to Gen. Frémont, pointing out its nonconformity to the Act of Congress, and suggesting that Frémont himself should change it to conform thereto. But Gen. Frémont preferred that the President should do it; and so Mr. Lincoln wrote another communication, dated Sept. 11, 1861, from which we extract the following: "On seeing your proclamation of Aug. 30, *I perceive no general objection to it:* the particular clause, however, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves, appeared to me to be objectionable *in its nonconformity to the Act of Congress*, passed the 6th of last August, upon the same subjects."

"But there was Gen. Hunter's proclamation," says the objector: "the President revoked it." True; and why? Simply because no one has a right to issue such a proclamation but the President, and that, too, as a military necessity. But Gen. Hunter did not issue his proclamation "from any alleged military necessity growing out of the operations in his department, but from a *theoretical incompatibility between slavery and martial law.*" Two good reasons, then, why the President should interfere! In his proclamation revoking Gen. Hunter's order, the

President expressly states that the right to free the slaves belongs to himself, and intimates that he may do it when "it shall have become a necessity, indispensable to the maintenance of the Government;" and, in view of what he shall be obliged to do (proclaim liberty to the captives), he entreats (in the same proclamation) the citizens of the slave States to adopt his previous measure of the gradual abolition of slavery, saying, "To the people of these States, now, I mostly appeal. I do not argue: I beseech you to make the arguments for yourselves. You cannot, if you would, be blind to the signs of the times. . . . So much good has not been done by one effort in all past time, as, in the providence of God, it is now your high privilege to do. May the vast future not have to lament that you have neglected it!"

How earnest and serious is the President in this matter! "If you do not abolish slavery, I shall," is the amount of the above appeal to the slaveholding States. The two documents that interfered with Frémont's and Hunter's proclamations prove that Mr. Lincoln was not only in favor of liberating the slaves, but was expecting the time would come when he must do it as a military necessity. Now that he has done it, why make so much bluster because he did not do it sooner? Rather, with Mr. Garrison, be thankful that it is done at all, and adore Divine Providence for putting it into the heart of the President to manage the difficult question in such a manner as to unite the masses of the people, and thereby avert the terrible disaster that would have resulted to our cause from dividing the loyal country into factions by more hasty and violent measures.

Even Wendell Phillips has recognized the duty of the

President to adhere to the Constitution, so far as possible, in dealing with slavery; and the following extracts from his speeches are a complete indorsement of the views we have presented. At the Music Hall, in April, 1861, he said,—

"Abraham Lincoln knows nothing, has a right to know nothing, but the Constitution of the United States. The South is all wrong, and the Administration is all right."

At Framingham, July 4, 1861, he said,—

"What do I ask of the Government? *I do not ask it to announce a policy of emancipation now: it is not strong enough to do it.* We can announce it; the people can discuss it: THE ADMINISTRATION IS NOT STRONG ENOUGH TO ANNOUNCE IT. I do not care whether it means it or not. IT WERE UTTER RUIN TO ANNOUNCE IT NOW. . . . An honest Administration, *an honest President,* stands hesitating, *distrusting the strength of the popular feeling behind him.* . . . Abraham Lincoln, Salmon P. Chase, Montgomery Blair, *have not the heart nor the wish* to thrust back into the hell of Virginia slavery one single contraband article in Fortress Monroe. *They never will do it.* . . . My policy, therefore, is, *give the Administration generous sympathy.* Give it all the confidence for honesty of purpose you can. They mean now only the Union; but *they are willing we should make them mean any thing more we please.* Abraham Lincoln means to do his constitutional duty in the crisis. *I have faith in his honesty.*"

Mark, that this radical abolitionist expressly declared in the above, that the President was in advance of public opinion on the question of liberty; and this has always been the fact. The violent and extensive opposition to all his radical measures against slavery is proof of this. One year later, he said,—

"I find great encouragement everywhere. *I find it in the disposition of the President.* I believe he means what he said to the Border-State senators and representatives, when, at the announce-

ment of his message, he summoned them to his presence, — 'Gentlemen, don't talk to me about slavery: you love it; I hate it. You mean it shall live: I mean it shall die.'

"*Lincoln is ahead of any thing you have said.* The State of Massachusetts is offering him to day millions. *What he wants is an indorsement and an encouragement.* What the Senate want is a policy pronounced by the people."

We have referred to the fact, that the rebels denounce Mr. Lincoln as a tyrant and usurper, while some loyal people regard him as altogether too lenient. That Mr. Lincoln has been kind, conciliatory, and forbearing, no sane man will deny. But, so far from reproaching his Administration, it is highly honorable to him and the nation. If he had manifested the same spirit of revenge and barbarism that has been exhibited by the enemy, this civil strife would have been divested of every feature of humanity and civilized warfare, and resulted in indiscriminate and savage butchery. Under his tolerant yet firm and resolute guidance, the Government stands forth to-day a model of national forbearance, to challenge the admiration of the world. To crush the Rebellion, and restore peace to our distracted land, with this tolerant spirit, will secure to us a better name and greater respect, when the war is over. When Saul hunted David with savage ferocity, the latter fled with his men to the Cave of Engedi for rest and safety. As he reposed in the rear of the dark recess, who should enter, one day, but Saul and his blood-thirsty warriors! Saul did not know that David was there, although he was pursuing him. What an exultant moment for David! Saul was now completely within his power. David could fall upon his foe, and speedily annihilate him; and his men thought it was a capital chance. They said, "Behold the day, of which the Lord said unto thee, Behold, I will

deliver thine enemy into thine hand, that thou mayest do to him as it shall seem good unto thee."

But David shrank from such a bloody slaughter. He simply advanced secretly, *and cut off the skirt of Saul's robe*, just to show him that he might have cut off his head as easily. Doubtless some of his soldiers called him a "fool" for sparing the enemy, who had occasioned him so much distress. But David acted his own lenient pleasure, and the world now calls him MAGNANIMOUS. His cause triumphed with all his forbearance, and the character of the leader appears more noble and attractive in consequence. In like manner, when this war is over, and the humane and forbearing policy of our President appears in contrast with the barbarity of the Rebel Government, every loyal citizen will proudly turn to this feature of his Administration, and call him MAGNANIMOUS.

Much has been said and written about the President's plan of reconstruction. It has been misunderstood, misrepresented, and vilified. His plan is simply this, and plain common sense anywhere can comprehend it. Believing that State governments only have been overthrown by the Rebellion, Mr. Lincoln proposes to reconstruct State governments alone. How? Just as it was done in Virginia in the early part of the war. Before his attention could be given to the subject particularly, Providence seems to have furnished a precedent in Western Virginia. The thing was done there, and worked well: why may it not be done elsewhere, successfully, by the people who are loyal to the Constitution and Government of the United States? The loyal people *are the State*, by the President's plan. The rebels do not take a state out of the Union, since the loyal people are the State: they only take them-

selves out, and subvert the Government, leaving the loyal people to reconstruct the Government. The President's proclamation simply provides a method, by which all persons, who have incurred the penalties of treason, may return to their allegiance, with certain exceptions; and also a plan for establishing loyal State-governments, like that in Virginia, in all other States where the Rebellion has subverted the loyal governments. Is not this enough, and well? Does any one ask if this plan will destroy slavery? We reply by asking, How is it possible to *save* slavery by this plan? War has emancipated the slaves; and, before a rebel can be restored to his forfeited rights, he must swear to support the rights of all, which includes the rights of emancipated slaves. Gen. Grant has well said, —

"The people of the North need not quarrel over the institution of slavery. What Vice-President Stephens acknowledges as the corner-stone of the Confederacy is already knocked out. Slavery is already dead, and cannot be resurrected. It would take a standing army to maintain slavery in the South, if we were to take possession to-day, guaranteeing to the South all their former constitutional privileges. I never was an abolitionist, not even what would be called antislavery: but I try to judge fairly and honestly; and it became patent to my mind, early in the Rebellion, that the North and South could never live at peace with each other, except as one nation, and that without slavery. As anxious as I am to see peace established, *I would not, therefore, be willing to see any settlement until this question is for ever settled.*"

THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE.

It is not strange, then, that the loyal people demand that Mr. Lincoln should serve them another term in the Presidential chair. It would be a mark of base ingrati-

tude if it were otherwise. Nay, more: it would prove that the people are insensible to their perils. For to change our President in the face of the enemy would be as suicidal as to change a competent general on the eve of battle. A veteran soldier roughly replied to the interrogative, whether the soldiers desired the re-election of Mr. Lincoln, "Why, of course they do. We have all re-enlisted to see this thing through, and old Abe must *re-enlist* too. He mustered us in, and must stay where he is until he has mustered us out. We'll never give it up until every rebel acknowledges that he is the constitutional President. When they got beat at the election, they kicked out of the traces, and declared that they would not submit to a black Republican President; but they *must*. We will show them that elections in this country *have got to stand*. Old Abe must stay in the White House until every rebel climbs down, and agrees to behave himself, and obey the laws of his country. There mustn't be any fooling in this thing; for I wouldn't give a copper for this country if the beaten side has a right to *bolt* after an election: *it wouldn't be fit to live in*."

There is more truth than elegance in the soldier's words. His philosophy is good, and loyal men should adopt it. But one sentiment pervades the entire army; and that is, "Abraham Lincoln must serve another term." Gen. Neal Dow, who was released from Libby Prison a few months since, said in a speech at Portland,—

"At present, the rebels are looking anxiously at movements in the North in relation to the next Presidential election. Their hope is, that some other man than Mr. Lincoln may be nominated and elected to the Presidency. The election of any other person they will regard as a sure indication that the loyal North tires of

the war, and means to change its policy in relation to it. The leaders of the Rebellion have now no other hope of success than this; and their hope is, that those may come into power who will say to them, 'Erring sisters, depart in peace!' The officers in Libby Prison, who had abundant opportunities to see the feeling of the rebels on this subject, were anxious that the loyal men of the North should perceive the danger of lending any encouragment to it. No man has a greater respect than myself for Mr. Chase and Mr. Frémont, nor a more entire conviction of their loyalty, and their ability to conduct the affairs of the country with honor to themselves, and to the advantage of the nation; but, for this time, I should regard the nomination of any other person than Mr. Lincoln as a public misfortune."

The wisdom and safety of taking one whom the country has tried in the most perilous times, and who "knows the ropes," instead of electing a new and untried man, must be apparent to every reflecting citizen.

Mr. Lincoln is qualified to do even better another presidential term than he has done this: he has now that best of all qualifications, — EXPERIENCE. He has become acquainted with the machine, and knows how to run it.

It would be as dishonorable as dangerous for the nation to shut its eyes to Mr. Lincoln's claims to re-election, — claims not based on any thing due him, but due ourselves.

Wendell Phillips, in a speech delivered since the Proclamation of Emancipation was issued, says, —

"I, for one, have no objection to the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln *for four or eight years longer*. I told the President himself, — and I believed it then, and I believe it now; I meant it then, and I mean it now, — that the man who would honestly put his hand to the plough of that proclamation, and execute it, *this people would not allow to quit while the experiment was trying*. Whoever starts the great experiment of emancipation, and honestly devotes his energies to making it a fact, *deserves to hold the helm of government till that experiment is finished.*"

Mr. Lincoln was never an office-seeker: he is not now. He was never accused of pulling the wires to secure his own nomination to any office. On the other hand, again and again, he has labored for the promotion of others, when his friends desired to promote him. In 1854, he stumped the State of Illinois, in connection with other speakers; and the result was, that, for the first time, the State had a Republican legislature. That legislature had the choice of a United-States senator to make, and they desired to choose Mr. Lincoln. But he entreated them to elect Mr. Trumbull; and it was only by his own earnest appeals that they were induced to drop Mr. Lincoln's name. Subsequently, he was offered the nomination for Governor of Illinois; but he declined the honor in favor of Mr. Bissell. And, when Mr. Seymour became Governor of New York, Mr. Lincoln generously sent the message to him, that he (Mr. Seymour) had it within his power to be the next President of the United States. He had so little thought or desire for the office himself, that he would gladly welcome a political opponent to it, *provided he would labor to save the Union.* Few public men have been so magnanimous as this. Few have been great or good enough to be so magnanimous. Truly the hand of Providence is manifest in the fact, that we have not a time-serving office-seeker for President in this fearful crisis! And is it not a singular circumstance, that Gen. Frémont should now be a candidate for the Presidency, in opposition to Mr. Lincoln, who canvassed the State of Illinois for Frémont in 1856? Alas, Frémont ingratitude!

Foreigners who espouse the side of the North are anxious that Mr. Lincoln should be re-elected. Peter Sinclair, Esq., of Scotland, who has labored for our cause

two years among the operatives of Lancashire, and whose labors, in the opinion of many, prevented the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, said recently, in a speech in Boston, "that the best thing we could do for our cause abroad was the re-election of Mr. Lincoln; that the greatest calamity which could befall the loyal States would be the failure to continue Mr. Lincoln in office: and he (Mr. Sinclair) was of the opinion, that the election of any other man would result in the recognition of the South, and war with the North; at any rate, it would stimulate our enemies anew, in France and England, to labor for this object."

Hon. George Thompson of England, now visiting this country, has repeatedly urged the re-election of Mr. Lincoln, in his addresses. At the late radical antislavery convention in Boston, he dealt heavy blows upon certain members for their attacks upon Mr. Lincoln; and, rising to speak the second time, he said,—

"I felt that I should be false to my own convictions, and unjust towards the party who had been assailed, if I did not rise, and, as an Englishman and an abolitionist, give my testimony in favor of President Lincoln. . . .

"We know, too, he has been the architect of his own fortunes; and that, by his industry, probity, high principles, and proverbial honesty, he has won his way to the confidence of the American people. We know, too, that he was elected President upon a platform, the *ne plus ultra* of the antislavery of which was the exclusion of slavery from the fifteen hundred thousand square miles of northwestern territory; yet, within two years from the time he went into the White House, he issued a proclamation giving liberty to more than three million of slaves. He has united this great republican nation in the bonds of diplomatic relationship with the hitherto scorned and outlawed negro republics of Hayti and Liberia; and I read in the papers of yesterday that the representative of one

of these States was introduced upon the floor of the Senate, and received the same attentions as are usually paid to the ministers of foreign countries. He has purged the national District from the reproach and pollution of slavery, and has thereby put the national brand upon the sin and crime of holding human beings in bondage. By formal message and resolution sent to the House of Representatives, and by personal interviews with the men from the Border States, he has done what he could to promote emancipation in the districts which his proclamation could not reach. Thus he has gone on from step to step, ever advancing, and never retreating, until a series of measures has been accomplished, such as the most sanguine amongst us never dreamed to see carried during the present generation. They have been measures so grand, so beneficent and all-important, that we who have contemplated them from the opposite side of the ocean have given God thanks on your behalf, and have rejoiced with you in the triumphs you have won. . . .

"When I look to the difficulties he has had to surmount, the warring elements by which he has been surrounded, the enemies within and without that have compassed his destruction, and to the comparative fewness of the numbers of those who have been prepared to sustain him in really radical measures, I cannot but regard him as the man for the situation."

Abraham Lincoln is the people's choice. He has won a large place in their affections. They know him as the honest man and faithful ruler. They honor him for what he *is*, and what he *has done*. Posterity will honor him as the model President, the champion of Freedom, and the EMANCIPATOR!

PORTRAIT

OF

PRESIDENT LINCOLN,

LITHOGRAPHED IN TINT, 20 INCHES BY 25.

PRICE $1.00

Sent free by mail, securely packed, on receipt of one dollar.

Every dwelling-house, place of business, workshop, schoolroom, hotel, or place of public resort, should be adorned with a copy of this likeness of the PRESIDENT.

PUBLISHED BY

WALKER, WISE, AND COMPANY,

BOSTON.

IMPORTANT HISTORICAL WORKS IN PRESS.

Martin's History of France.

A history universally conceded to be the most profound, exhaustive, and interesting, in the French or any other language; beginning with the earliest ages, and ending with the French Revolution of 1789, where Thiers takes up the narrative. This work received the GOBERT PRIZE of 10,000 francs, in 1844, from the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, as the most *learned*, and in 1856 and 1859 from the French Academy as the most *eloquent*, work on the History of France.

Two volumes, comprising the HISTORY OF LOUIS XIV., translated by Miss BOOTH, and containing an interesting Introduction written especially for this edition by M. MARTIN, adorned by Portraits on steel, of LOUIS XIV. and COLBERT, will be issued in the best style of the celebrated Riverside Press, Cambridge, probably in October, and supplied at $3.50 a volume, to *subscribers only*.

Martineau's History of the Peace.

This important work, as first published in England, was simply a "*History of the Thirty-years' Peace.*" Subsequently, Miss MARTINEAU wrote an "Introduction," presenting a view of the state of Europe during the first fifteen years of the century.

For the present edition, Miss MARTINEAU, besides revising the text, and supplying a PREFACE, contributes an ENTIRE ADDITIONAL BOOK; bringing the History down to the actual termination of the Peace by the Russian War. The present publication is therefore a

Complete History of England from 1800 to 1854.

The work will be issued in four vols., post 8vo., of about 500 pages each, printed in the best manner, on laid and tinted paper, and substantially bound in cloth.

Vols. 1 and 2, comprising the New Preface, the Introductory portions, and the History of the Peace to 1826, will be issued this autumn, and supplied *to subscribers only* at $2.25 per volume.

SUBSCRIPTION LIST NOW OPEN. Address

WALKER, WISE, & CO., Publishers,

BOSTON.

Ready in October.

History of the Antislavery Measures

Of the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congresses. From the Journals of the Senate and the House, and the Congressional Globe. By Hon. HENRY WILSON, U S. Senator from Massachusetts.

This important publication will contain, in a connected form, the history of each of the Acts of the last two Congresses bearing on slavery, — as, *the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, the Repeal of the Fugitive-slave Law, the Employment of Negroes in the Army*, &c., — commencing with the introduction of the respective Resolution or Bill, giving the Debate *pro* and *con*, with sufficient fulness to show its drift and spirit, the points of advocacy or opposition, and the various votes taken.

25,000 copies sold already!

The Early Life

OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

"THE PIONEER BOY."

BY WILLIAM M. THAYER.

THIS book contains the full and reliable life of President Lincoln, from the time he was seven years of age until he took his seat in the Presidential chair.

This is the AUTHENTIC and AUTHORIZED life of the President, as is shown by the subjoined letter from the SON of the President, a student in Harvard College: —

CAMBRIDGE, April 17, 1863.

REV. MR. THAYER,

DEAR SIR, — I received, a few days since, a copy of the "Pioneer Boy," for which I wish to return my thanks.

I am very much pleased with the book, as an interesting story; and I find, that, in reading it, many things are recalled which I had forgotten.

You have been singularly successful in avoiding errors; as I find I have, at some time, heard nearly every thing you narrate, from a "reliable gentleman."

With the best wishes for its success, I remain

Yours very truly,

ROBT. T. LINCOLN.

Will be sent by mail, postage free, to any part of the country, on receipt of one dollar and fifty cents, by the Publishers.

A Youth's History of the Rebellion.

By WILLIAM M. THAYER, author of "The Pioneer Boy," &c.

Five full-page Illustrations. Price $1.50.

This "History of the Rebellion" contains the substance of the larger works; so that families not caring to purchase the histories made large and expensive by the introduction of public documents, long speeches, &c., will find the present a valuable and reliable History for the elder portions of the family, as well as the younger. Will be sent by mail on receipt of $1.50. Mail orders solicited.

WALKER, WISE, & CO., Publishers, Boston.

DINSMOOR & CO., Agents, 33, School Street, Boston.

N t